Is Dislike of Nixon, Ike's Medicine? P. 4

Condon's Own Story: How Scientists Are Hounded Out of Private Industry, Too. Pages 2 and 3

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Ten Years After, Mr. X Would Substitute Disengagement for Containment

Exclusive! Kennan Opposes Nuclear Tests in BBC Talk

In a series of weekly lectures over the BBC in London, George F. Kennan has been having a fresh look at the doctrine of containment he launched ten years ago. In these lectures, of which four had been delivered at the time we write, our former Ambassador to Moscow is illustrating the poverty of ideas which mark not only the Eisenhower administration but the Democratic opposition, the former still inanely rigid, the latter feverishly insistent on greater urgency but in no visible direction other than the same brink on which Mr. Dulles performs. Unfortunately there are as yet available no full texts of the Kennan lectures as delivered. The *New York Times* has reported them less fully than the *Times* of London. Even coverage in the latter—judging by the uncorrected advance texts supplied us here in Washington by the British Broadcasting Company—has not been satisfactory. The most striking gap in coverage seems to be the omission from the news accounts of the eloquent passage reprinted in the adjoining box in which Mr. Kennan pleads for an end of nuclear testing. Whether this excerpt from the advance text was omitted at the last moment in delivery or whether it has just been ignored we were still unable to learn as we went to press.

If Socialism Is What They Want . . .

It is easy to understand from these lectures why Mr. Kennan was eased out of the State Department so soon after Mr. Dulles's advent. For in them Mr. Kennan not only proposes the abandonment of containment for disengagement but demolishes the foundations of cold war policy, particularly the notion that if it were not for our possession of the atomic bomb the Russians would have moved in on Western Europe and precipitated a new world war long ago. Though he has his own profound disagreements with the Russian leaders he knows so well and has some very just observations to make on the habits of self-deception to which the opportunistic Leninist dismissal of objective truth has led, he attacks as unsound the idea which since 1947 has equated them with the Hitler crowd and posited no means of dealing with them except on the similar basis of unconditional surrender. He believes it unfair to expect them to agree to the reunification of a rearmed Germany in NATO, and he sees a neutralized Germany as the cornerstone of a mutual withdrawal of Soviet and American armies which would really liberate Eastern Europe. He would liberate it not only from Russian occupation but from American preconceptions. "If socialism is what these people want and need," Mr. Kennan said in the advance text of his third lecture, "so be it; but let it by all means be their own choice."

Man's Duty to The Future

"I have expressly refrained from speaking, in connection with these other matters, of that aspect of the atomic problem that now worries many of my countrymen most of all: namely, the damage that may be done to our human environment and to the genetic make-up of human beings by the mere testing of these fearful weapons, not to mention their actual use in war.

"I would like to say that I have the deepest misgivings and feelings of conscience about the continued testing of these devices. I believe that man's duty is not to this generation alone, but also to those who have gone before and to those who will come after us.

"Could anything be more egotistical and more presumptuous than to alter, in the interests of our own physical survival, the environment in which it was given us to live? Surely it is better that many of us should die somewhat before our time, than that we should live at the cost of prejudicing the conditions of life for our children. So long, therefore, as the scientists disagree about the effects of all this testing, it is our duty to be guided by our obligation to the other generations—not just to our own."

—George F. Kennan, Reith Lecture No. 4, BBC, Sun. Dec. 1 (uncorrected advance text).

Against A Tighter NATO

In a striking distortion, the *New York Times* (Nov. 18) headlined its report of Mr. Kennan's second lecture, "Kennan Holds Talk with Soviet Futile." On the contrary, though dubious of sensational summit talks, Mr. Kennan pleaded for an unremitting patient diplomatic effort, issue by issue, in search of agreement with the Russians. For this reason he strongly opposed a tighter NATO structure. "The delicate explorations and discussions which must precede accommodation in complex international questions," said the advance text of his second lecture, "cannot be conducted by a coalition, operating on the basis of sporadic, unanimous and highly formalized decisions." In his fourth he opposed the current policy of giving out nuclear weapons. "A defense posture," he said, "built around a weapon of suicidal destruction can serve only to paralyze national policy." As for the notion that tactical nuclear weapons would be "relatively harmless things," he added in the same address. "Even the tactical atomic weapons are destructive to a degree that sickens the imagination."

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The Inside Story of Ten Years of Security-Loyalty Mania Persecution . . .

Dr. E. U. Condon Lifts the Curtain Before the American Physical Society

By Dr. Edward U. Condon

From an address the press neglected before the American Physical Society Nov. 29 in St. Louis by the former director of the National Bureau of Standards, now head of the department of physics at Washington University.

Please forgive me if tonight I discuss an old and tiresome subject. I want to make some remarks about the political abuse of the personnel security system, which has done so much in the past decade to blight the relations of loyal American scientists and their Government.

During the last two months there has come about a general public awareness that America is not automatically, and effortlessly and unquestionably the leader of the world in science and technology. This comes as no surprise to those of us who have watched and tried to warn against the steady deterioration in the teaching of science and mathematics in the schools for the past quarter century.

It comes as no surprise to those who have known dozens of cases of scientists who have been hounded out of jobs by silly disloyalty charges, and kept out of all professional employment by widespread blacklisting practices. It comes as no surprise to those of us who have known how good American scientists have had to face vilification by political speechmakers in and out of Congress, and have been falsely prosecuted for perjury, and have been improperly denied passports, or have had their passports seized and invalidated without due process by the State Department, or who have had their telephones tapped or their letters intercepted by government agents.

Ten Years of Persecution

I do not wish to be boastful, and in this respect I would gladly change places with any of you, but I think that I have probably had a bigger dose of this kind of mistreatment than any of my fellow members of the American Physical Society. It began ten years ago last summer.

In that time I have had two full scale loyalty hearings in the Department of Commerce, a full field investigation for the Atomic Energy Commission which occupied the best efforts of 300 FBI agents, and finally in 1954 had a hearing under the policies and procedures set up by this administration. In all of these I received full clearance. All covered essentially the same ground which was no ground at all. The House Committee on Un-American Activities made numerous attacks on me in 1947 and 1948 before its then chairman went off to serve a term in Federal penitentiary as a common crook. Finally this Committee staged a political hearing on the same old stale and outworn material just before the 1952 elections.

During most of this period I kept on working to develop the scientific strength and stature of the National Bureau of Standards.

Helped on H-Bomb

Edward Teller told this last personnel security board hearing in April 1954 that the Bureau's work on the hydrogen bomb which I organized advanced our achievement of that goal by many months, probably a year. If he is correct in the implication that without that work we would have been delayed by about a year, then the lack of that work would have made us come in second in the international rivalry for the hydrogen bomb.

Nevertheless all the old stuff was rehashed once again in 1952 and again in 1954. I was badgered all those years for having been interested in the American Soviet Science Society, an organization which received a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation ten years ago to foster translation and wider distribution in this country of the Russian scientific literature. Now, a decade later, we read of crash programs to translate the Russian scientific literature and spread it around in this country. Why, man, you can't do that: that's subversive!

In July 1954 I was given complete security clearance by the Eastern Industrial Personnel Security Board. You might think now that I would be allowed to go back to work. Yet in October, 1954, just before the election, we find Nixon making his twenty-years-of-treason speeches and boasting that he got the Secretary of the Navy to suspend my clearance, as was done on October 21.

Seven Years of Smear

Try to picture the situation. I had been under steady political attack for seven years, and had won at every hearing. But now I was told that I would have to go over all the same material again, before a kangaroo court whose members were to be hand picked to do their job by Defense Department officials.

Many of my friends had been persecuted by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Some of them had taken refuge abroad. Our good friend and past president, Robert Oppenheimer, who brilliantly built and led the Los Alamos laboratory during the war, had just been publicly disgraced by an official action of the government. The scientific staff of the Signal Corps laboratories at Fort Monmouth had suffered a blow from which it has not yet recovered through the irresponsible attacks of Joseph McCarthy—attacks which the President had not resisted until McCarthy began lobbing his shots toward the White House.

It was plain that our scientific leadership in Washington felt powerless to do anything. I discussed the problem at the National Academy of Sciences. I asked our good friend and past president, I. I. Rabi, whether possibly something could be done by another of our good friends and past presidents, Lee DuBridge. For Lee was at that time chairman of the same scientific advisory board to the President that Rabi now heads. I was told that Lee himself was having security clearance troubles!

Under those circumstances, I decided then, and I still think correctly, that the Administration was committed by policy to persecution of scientists, or, at the very least, to a callous in-

Dangerous National Habit

"It seems to me that the population of this country has a considerable predilection for trusting essentially stupid people and mistrusting those who are brilliant.
—Nobel Prize Winner Harold C. Urey, addressing Science and Mathematics Teachers, Chicago, Nov. 30.

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. . . And A Plea for Belated Justice to Other "Exiles" Less Glamorous Than Oppenheimer

How Scientists Have Been Blacklisted Even After Umteen Clearances

difference toward what others were doing to attack and discredit them. I decided that the situation was hopeless, and that I had done all that could reasonably be expected of me in having resisted these evil dishonorable forces for seven long years.

No Rest for the Innocent

In those seven years so much of my nervous energy had gone into the struggle that I was weary unto sickness, and was forced to neglect the proper courtship of our beloved profession. So I decided to withdraw from the struggle, and my resignation from an industrial position for which security clearance was needed was announced early in December.

You might think now that I would be allowed to go back to work. I came East in January 1955 after giving my retiring presidential address to the American Association for the Advancement of Science and was offered the post of chairman of the Department of Physics in a leading university. In March the Chancellor of that university told me he could not follow through on the appointment because a high government official threatened one of the university trustees that if my appointment went through, that university would lose all of its Federal funds.

In June of 1955 I was asked to serve on a committee on a non-classified problem of military importance—and then suddenly asked not to, just before the first meeting of that committee.

Incidentally I *was* cleared from July 1954 to October 1954. During that period some navy people came to see me with an urgent problem on the development of a radome for a guided missile. It was highly secret but I was cleared for it.

By the time we had the development models made, my clearance had been suspended 'pending further consideration,' as Secretary Thomas put it. Some of our cleared young men tried to deliver the radomes but found these Navy men in such a state of panic that they would not accept them! A few weeks later—all this was just about three years ago—they regained their courage and sheepishly asked to have the radomes.

Ike for Freedom—In the Abstract

In the winter of 1955-56, I thought that surely the President would not approve of these things if he knew about them. In June of 1954 I had been Phi Beta Kappa orator for Columbia's bicentennial year and spoke in favor of academic freedom, and that same evening had heard the former President of Columbia University, Dwight Eisenhower, give a rousing address on freedom and democracy at a big alumni dinner at the Waldorf-Astoria. But none of our Columbia friends knew how to get through to him.

In the fall of 1954 I had met socially the President's brother, Milton Eisenhower, now of Johns Hopkins University, just after my clearance had been suspended, and he had inquired solicitously about the effect of this on my work. As everyone knows Milton spends a good deal of his time trying to help the President. So I wrote several letters to Milton outlining the situation and asking his help. These letters were never answered except for perfunctory replies by secretaries.

Eyes, But They See Not

The just released second interim report of the President's Committee on Scientists and Engineers manages to discuss the shortage of teachers and of scientists and technicians without once mentioning the effect of the witch hunt and the blacklist in unjustly exiling many good scientists and teachers from their professions. When will professional organizations take this indelicate subject up on their own and document the impact of the loyalty-security mania on these shortages?

I was more than ever convinced that persecution of scientists was being followed as a settled policy.

In connection with all the soul-searching that is going on we hear a good deal being said about asking Robert Oppenheimer back into government service. I hope this is done—humbly and with apologies.

That will be a good start. But what about the others? What about David Bohm whose passport was seized in Brazil? What about Robert's brother, Frank, whose brilliant career as a cosmic ray physicist was abruptly terminated so that he must now hide away on a Colorado cattle ranch instead of working as a physicist? What about Joe Weinberg, luridly attacked in Congress as Scientist X, and driven from university work? What about Bernard Peters? What about B. T. Darling? What about all the dozens of others of our fellow members whose careers have been blighted?

Our present President, Harry Smyth, wsa recently quoted in the newspapers about the question of rehabilitating the Government's relation to Robert Oppenheimer as saying: 'Naturally I think he should be reinstated—if he wants to come back. I wouldn't blame him if he didn't want to.'

Not the Only Way for A Physicist

I want to close these already too long remarks with some thought this suggests to me. There is a grave danger that the public will get the false idea that the only way a physicist can really serve our society is in making bigger and more deadly missiles.

I know that Robert Oppenheimer does not have the hide of a rhinoceros, so of course he has suffered emotionally from what has been done to him. But I would rather think he is better off scientifically to have had time to get back to physics. I think that in the long run his time will have turned out to have been better spent working on physics these past three years than if he had spent them dervishing in and out of the revolving doors of the Pentagon.

What I am trying to say is that the Government ought to make honorable amends to him and others—but that we must recognize that if basic research is to be done, an excellent job of teaching must go along with it, and that our very best people are needed for both these things. The very best physicists can make their most worth-while contribution in these ways rather than in weapon development. I not only would not blame him if he didn't return to weapon development, but if that were his decision, I would know that he was not sulking, but simply putting first things first as a man of his intelligence should. At least that's the way I feel.

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A Foray into Psychosomatic Politics and the Inner Love Life of the Administration

Is Dislike for Nixon the Magic Medicine of the President's Recoveries?

No one can help feeling sorry for the President and pleased with his recovery. No poor sick old man was ever more put upon by those surrounding him as they prop him up after every attack. He deserves retirement to the rest he has earned at Gettysburg but it looks as if he may never achieve it.

My own theory is that a principal factor in Mr. Eisenhower's phenomenal come-backs is his determination not to hand the office over to his Vice President. No one likes his heir apparent; one always suspects that he is hanging around hopefully, waiting for the old man to shuffle off.

The real relations between Eisenhower and Nixon is one of the big untold stories of this capital. Those who would be willing to write it, do not know the facts. Those who know are bound by confidence and convention not to tell it. I can only claim to have picked up echoed bits and pieces from the periphery. My own hunch is that they dislike each other intensely.

The Unwanted Bride

Nixon from the beginning felt like an unwanted bride in an arranged marriage. Eisenhower found himself hitched to a partner whose standards (as in the incident of the expense fund given Nixon by admirers) he found distasteful. Nixon felt on the verge of national disgrace and rejection then and deeply humiliated four years later when Ike was neutral as between Nixon and Stassen.

The differences, as so often the case in such relations, are instinctive and temperamental, not matters of principle. The President's own fuzziness when it comes to politics may be illustrated by a story told me by the correspondent of a leading British newspaper with *entre* to the best circles of the capital.

A Ticket to End All Tickets

This British newspaperman heard that at one of the private get-togethers at the White House to which leading personalities are invited, Mr. Eisenhower in discussing the next campaign suggested that an excellent ticket would be Gen. Gruenther for President and J. Edgar Hoover for Vice-President. The correspondent, incredulous, began to check with men who had been present at that affair and much to his surprise found them ready to confirm it since they, too, thought it an eminently sensible suggestion!

Nixon's Self Build-Up

If the President were for Nixon as his successor, he would not be discussing other possibilities. Nixon, on his side, has been having key newspaper correspondents in for chats off the record. These are designed for two purposes (1) to continue the task of remaking Nixon's image into that of a responsible rather liberal young man and (2) to advance his campaign to be acting President during these recurrent illnesses by spreading the impression that Nixon alone (unlike the President's entourage) is really aware of the basic issues in the world crisis.

These off-the-record talks have not increased the affection of the White House palace guard for Nixon. Is there an American Balzac in the audience? Here is a story made to order for him.

For California Readers

I am speaking twice in California during December, on Friday the 13th at the First Unitarian Church in San Francisco, and on Tuesday the 17th at the Music Box Theatre, 7080 Hollywood Boulevard, Los Angeles, on "The Real Challenge of Sputnik," admission $1. Time: 8 p. m.

The Los Angeles meeting is under the auspices of Women for Legislative Action, a live-wire organization, but the San Francisco meeting is an experiment, a rather hazardous one. It is under the Weekly's own auspices, and will depend on the pulling power of these few announcements and on those good souls among the readers who will take it on themselves to do a Paul Revere on the telephone among their friends and in any organizations they influence and help drum up an audience.

So this is an appeal above all to readers in the San Francisco Bay area to help make the meeting there (on Friday the 13th yet) a success.—IFS.

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